

## Message Text

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47

ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-03 SP-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

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RSC-01 L-01 /045 W

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R 241300Z OCT 74

FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6181

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L JERUSALEM 1860

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, PFOR, JO, IS

SUBJ: POSSIBILITY OF ISRAELI-WEST BANK ACCORD

SUMMARY. WE SEE NO REAL CHANCE ISRAELIS CAN AT THIS STAGE CREATE WEST BANK LEADERSHIP WITH WHICH THEY COULD NEGOTIATE SEPARATE SETTLEMENT. ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL WEST BANK LEADERS WOULD DISTRUST ULTIMATE ISRAELI INTENTION TO WITHDRAW, WOULD FEEL THEY WERE BEING USED IN ISRAELI MANEUVER AGAINST PLO AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS, AND WOULD REALIZE ISRAEL WOULD NOT RETURN ENOUGH TERRITORY (ESPECIALLY IN JERUSALEM) TO JUSTIFY THEIR STICKING THEIR NECKS OUT. WEST BANKERS MOREOVER WOULD NOT BE ATTRACTED BY ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD AMOUNT, IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, TO THEIR RESIGNING FROM THE ARAB WORLD. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE HAVE BEEN INTIMATIONS FROM ISRAELI LEADERSHIP (ALLON'S OCT 21 KNESSET SPEECH) THAT IF ARAB SUMMIT DOESN'T PRODUCE "WORKABLE" RESULT, ISRAEL MAY PROCEED TO WORK OUT SOME FORM OF SETTLEMENT WITH WEST BANK ARABS. WE ASSUME THIS IN PART AT LEAST INTENDED AS THREAT TO ARABS ASSEMBLING IN RABAT. TO EXTENT  
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ISRAELIS MAY BELIEVE IT IS PRACTICAL POSSIBILITY, HOWEVER, WE THINK

THEY ARE DELUDING THEMSELVES.

2. WE HAVE REPORTED FROM TIME TO TIME EFFORTS BY ISRAELIS TO INTEREST WEST BANK LEADERS IN TAKING OVER ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF WEST BANK WHILE ISRAEL KEPT SECURITY FUNCTION. WE ASSUME THIS IS WHAT PERES DISCUSSED RECENTLY WITH ANWAR KHATIB (JERUSALEM 1740). SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IS OBVIOUSLY DIFFERENT FROM ONE IN WHICH ISRAEL PROPOSES TO TURN OVER SOME PORTION OF WEST BANK TOTALLY TO ARAB CONTROL. LATTER WOULD THEORETICALLY BE FAR MORE ATTRACTIVE, BUT IT NEVERTHELESS HAS FATAL PROBLEMS (EVEN ASSUMING IMMENSE DIFFICULTY OF PULLING DISPARATE WEST BANKERS INTO DECISION-MAKING BODY COULD BE OVERCOME).

3. A PRIMARY DIFFICULTY IS DEEP ARAB DISTRUST OF ISRAELI MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS. IF WEST BANK NOTABLES WERE GENUINELY CONVINCED THAT ISRAEL INTENDED TO WITHDRAW, THEY MIGHT ENTERTAIN THE IDEA. KHATIB RECOUNTED THAT PERES ASKED HIM WHAT GOI COULD DO TO INDUCE HIM TO PLAY LEADERSHIP ROLE, AND HE ANSWERED "WITHDRAW". BUT ISRAELIS WILL CLEARLY NOT OPEN DIALOG BY MAKING FIRM COMMITMENT TO WITHDRAW AT EARLY DATE AND NOTHING LESS WOULD BE CONVINCING. IF NOTHING ELSE, ARABS KNOW STRENGTH OF ISRAELI INTERNAL OPPOSITION TO WITHDRAWAL AND WOULD BE HIGHLY SKEPTICAL OF GOI'S ABILITY TO ABANDON WEST BANK EVEN IF IT WANTED TO.

4. ARABS WOULD THEREFORE SEE THEMSELVES BEING SUCKED INTO POSITION OF GREAT RISK POLITICALLY, EVEN PHYSICALLY, ONLY TO BE LEFT WITHOUT THE FULFILLMENT THAT WOULD BE CONCEIVABLE JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR ACTIONS.

5. LOCAL ARAB LEADERSHIP WOULD REALIZE THAT "INDEPENDENT" WEST BANK, BORN IN THIS WAY, WOULD BE CUT OFF FROM ARAB WORLD. MANY LEADERS, MOREOVER, HAVE MORE OR LESS GENUINE LOYALTIES EITHER TO PLO OR HASHEMITES, AND UNLESS THEY WERE CONVINCED BOTH OPTIONS WERE PERMANENTLY RULED OUT THEY WOULD NOT ABANDON THEM. AT THIS STAGE THEY WOULD LIKELY NOT BE SO CONVINCED AND WOULD FEEL THEY WERE BEING USED IN ISRAELI MANEUVER AGAINST PLO AND ARAB GOVERNMENTS.

6. FINALLY, AND PROBABLY DECISIVELY, IS FACT THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT TURN OVER ENOUGH TERRITORY TO JUSTIFY WEST BANKERS' "DEFECTION"

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AND WEST BANKERS KNOW IT. TO MAKE DEAL WITHOUT JERUSALEM IS CONSIDERED IMPOSSIBLE FOR HUSSEIN, HOW MUCH MORE SO FOR WEST BANK LEADERS. KHATIB IS HIMSELF JERUSALEMITE. WHILE ISRAEL MIGHT CONCEIVABLY MAKE CONCESSIONS ON JERUSALEM AT END OF LONG NEGOTIATIONS WITH FULL PANOPLY OF ARAB FORCES, ETC., GOI COULD HARDLY DO SO IN ARRANGEMENT IT WAS IN EFFECT DICTATING TO CAPTIVE ARABS.  
DAY

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PBOR, PFOR, JO, IS  
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